Volume LXXXV CHICAGO, May 6, 1920 Number 10

UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

A SONNET

Drop me the seed, that I, even in my brain
May be its nourishing earth. No mortal knows
From what immortal granary comes the grain,
Nor how the earth conspires to make the rose;

But from the dust and from the wetted mud
Comes help, given or taken; so with me
Deep in my brain the essence of my blood
Shall give it stature until Beauty be.

It will look down, even as the burning flower
Smiles upon June, long after I am gone.
Dust-footed Time will never tell its hour,
Through dusty Time its rose will draw men on.

Through dusty Time its beauty shall make plain
Man, and, Without, a spirit scattering grain.

Lollingdon Downs —*John Masefield.*

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXV THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1920 NUMBER 10

PRAYER.

Help us, Father, to think of the things of the spirit, the things of love, the things that die not, the things that lift humanity out of its wickedness and its meanness. Help us, Father, to think of those things that unite, that pacify, that take bitterness and hatred out of our hearts. Help us, Father, to think gratefully of the prophet-children of thine who in time of hate and war have spoken of peace and love.

We thank Thee, Father, that in the dissonance of today we hear the sweet calm music of the centuries. Help us to realize the better way. Hasten the time when the cannon will be spiked, muskets will be stacked and nations shall war no more, when spears will be beaten into pruning hooks and swords into plowshares.

In our weakness we would rest in Thy strength, in our hatreds we would find Thy love, in our ignorance we would seek Thy wisdom; in our loneliness we would find companionship with Thee, Infinite Nearness, ever present Order, dominating Law, conquering Love.

Help us, O Father, to realize the great brotherhood of man, to feel the tie that binds us to the frailest and weakest, to the lowest as well as the highest of thy children. Help us to confess our weakness as a nation, our shortcomings as a people. Reveal to us the things we ought to have done but have left undone, that in the future we may go forth with cleaner hands and purer hearts, with better informed minds and more heroic consciences, that thy peace which passeth understanding may come into our lives, into the life of this city, into the troubled life of this nation, into the life of all nations. Amen. —*Jenkin Lloyd Jones.*

Little by little the world is beginning to learn and confess what the Great War has done to humanity; and what must now be done by humanity, if civilization is to be saved. Signor Nitti's recent statement at San Remo is of enormous significance in this regard. "Peace must be brought back to all Europe," he said, "and Europe given back to work. We must make peace at once and everywhere, or we are fated to the direst catastrophes. There is only one means to attain this result—*conquered and conquerors must be made one!*" No talk here, it will be noticed, of victory and defeat! The Italian premier simply sees, what the pacifist prophecied from the beginning, that the War has overthrown all the nations, conquered and conqueror alike; and he urges, what the pacfist urged long since, the cessation of hostilities, that the world may not be utterly destroyed. Whether this counsel, as now given by Nitti, comes in time to prevent complete disaster, no man can say; but that, if acted upon when offered years ago by the hated pacifist, it would have delivered Europe from what now threatens, is certain. And let it not be said that the situation is different today from what it was when the contending armies were battle-locked on the western front! It is different, of course, but different only in the sense that it is now much worse, and that what was easy then is today infinitely difficult, if not impossible, of accomplishment. The pacifist was the only man who was right about this War. He alone saw that it involved no issue that was vital, and moved to no end that was good. We wonder if this means that he will be heeded, when the next war comes along.

Premier Nitti's statement is important not merely as an indictment of the War, but also as an indictment of the Peace. In stating what must be done now, he states at the same time what should have been done months ago at Paris. In this regard, the Italian statesman's utterance is the most important given to the world since the signing of the armistice. Suppose that, around the peace table, there had sat men who saw what Nitti now sees, that all the belligerent nations must end their differences forthwith, and join hands in a great endeavor to save the shattered world! Suppose that, in place of reparation and revenge, of penalties and spoils of victory, these peacemakers had talked of mutual aid to the end of delivering all of Europe from bankruptcy and death! Suppose that Lloyd-George had said, what he now says, that Germany is already punished of her crime, and as one stricken of the palsy, needs healing and much patient sympathy; suppose that Clemenceau had been willing to meet and confer with the German chancellor, for the common service of their common need, as Millerand seems now willing to do; suppose that Wilson, the one man really cognizant of the demands of the situation, had had the moral hardihood to stand by his ideals! How different the outcome would have been, and how much brighter the prospect of the future! For one thing at least, however, we may be grateful—that "the madness of Versailles" was so soon exposed, and the work of undoing the evils of that "madness" so soon begun. Signor Nitti's statement would seem to indicate that a new spirit has at last gained entrance into the minds of men, and that humanity may yet perhaps be saved.

The facts laid bare by Judge George W. Anderson, in the Federal District Court in Boston, about the raids engineered by Attorney General Palmer last January, are almost beyond belief. Perhaps nothing is more shocking than the deliberate use of *agents provocateurs,* hitherto associated in history only with such monstrous tyrannies as the Austrian Kingdom of Naples and the Czar's rule in Russia. "It is clear,"

said Judge Anderson, in the course of the proceedings before him for writs of habeas corpus for five persons ordered deported as alien radicals, "that the Government operates some part of the Communist Party in this country." Agents of the Department of Justice, in other words, were shown by testimony to have joined the Party and taken part in its activities, issued literature intended to bring into condemnation people connected with the Party, and stimulated meetings in order to make easy the arrest of members. All this in America! And there are those who cannot understand why there is so much talk at the present moment on the issue of freedom! If Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer, the man responsible for such a reign of tyranny as this country has never known, it is perhaps enough to say that the public is taking care of him today, as witness the primary elections in Michigan and Georgia; and that posterity will take care of him tomorrow. But how comforting it would be, and what a credit to the nation, if the record could be made complete by a trial of impeachment!

A new patrioteer organization is in the field. As though the National Security League, the American Defense Society, the Navy League, etc., were not enough to try the patience and test the tolerance of the citizens of this country, we now have the "United Americans." This organization, which prints its literature on *white* paper in *blue* ink with *red* trimmings, has been formed

to preserve the constitution of the United States, with the representative form of government and the right of individual possession which the constitution provides, and to work under that fundamental law for the adjustment of American institutions to new conditions and thus to promote the prosperity and happiness of all.

These purposes sound in themselves not altogether bad, until it is seen that they are specifically directed against

the radical organizations, composed chiefly of criminals, mistaken idealists, social bigots, and men and women suffering with varying forms of hyperaesthesia, which represent a distinctly criminal and dishonest scheme for the destruction of all ownership in property, the destruction of all government, all religion and belief in God, a movement organized against democracy and in favor of the power of the few built up by force.

After this naive tirade, it is not surprising to read that:

first on the program (of the United Americans) is a great national revival of patriotism, a crusade for God and Home and Native Land;

and secondly, the organization of a far-flung system of private espionage, to protect schools from disloyal teachers, churches from disloyal ministers, and the public generally from disloyal newspapers, magazines, books and pamphlets. The National Committee of this society is of course composed predominantly of bankers, manufacturers and lawyers. Thus, the seventeen men on the Executive Board have after their names the following phrases:

Bloodgood, Kemper & Bloodgood, Community Motion Picture Bureau, Retired Chicago Manufacturer, Ex-Gov. Philippines, Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Kaul Lumber Co., Koster Mfg. Co., Pres. National Lumbermen's Assn., Long-Bell Lumber Co., Pres. First Natl. Bank, Pettibone, Mulliken & Co., O'Donnell Shoe Co., Vice-President Sinclair Oil Co., Title & Trust Co., Mgr. Foreign Trade Bureau, Guaranty Trust Co., Pres. Westinghouse Air Brake Co., Pres. Natl. Milk Producers Federation.

Of such are the saviors of the nation! We have no doubt that these men are sincere, and we will take for granted, for the sake of argument, that their movement is unselfish. But we confess to a profound distrust of any who arrogate to themselves the name "American," and who express their patriotism in terms of outlawry and slander for all their fellow-citizens whose opinions are different from their own.

"All religious creeds in Colorado," says a news dispatch, "are uniting to fight the reds. From the pulpits in every city and hamlet the battle will be waged."

In a letter addressed to the Governor, signed by Bishop Irving P. Johnson, Rabbi William S. Friedman, seven Protestant and one Catholic clergymen, it is promised, on behalf of the clergy of the state, that

we will cheerfully accept any directions which you may suggest by which we can help you to preserve the spirit of patriotism in the United States, and await further instructions from you as to our duties and responsibilities.

It is interesting thus to see the church coming to the state for "instructions," especially when the first duty imposed is that of "militant service in the recruiting and reorganization of the National Guard." A noble task, indeed, for these ministers of God! The Guard, we suppose, must be recruited. But why should the clergy be assigned to the doing of this job? Is it easy to think of Jesus as a recruiting sergeant, raising regiments of soldiers to hunt the "Reds" of his day? Was the Nazarene so hot in this business of aiding the state to seize upon the outlawed poor? There are undoubtedly sincere minds which can make this association; but we confess this Colorado situation reminds us not of Jesus and Palestine, but of Ludlow massacres, and of the Colorado governor, years ago, who pictured himself as riding in "blood up to his bridle reins."

Devices for persuading people to attend church are of innumerable variety and increasing ingenuity. The latest, of which news has reached us, is a challenge issued to the Women's Alliance by the Laymen's League of a certain Unitarian Church in New England, to "a church-going contest for the month of March based on percentage of membership, the loser to serve a supper." Think of the condition into which the church has fallen, when it is necessary to resort to a scheme of this kind in order to get people into the pews on a Sunday morning! Think of the state of mind of a congregation which has gathered not to hear a sermon, not to sustain good works in the community, not even to worship God, but to compete suc-

cessfully in a contest for a supper! And think of the unhappy lot of the minister who has to face a congregation brought together under the influence of such a spirit! What is religion anyhow, that its august incentives to dedication can thus be superceded by children's games? What are the souls of men, that they can be prostituted to such vulgar ends? It is foolish, of course, to take such performances overseriously. There are moments "off duty" for the most serious lives and the most sober institutions. But we insist that these moments for the church are not on Sunday morning. Furthermore, this episode is important not in itself, but as a sign of the times. There was a time when religion made its own compelling appeal to the hearts of men. Why does it do so no longer?

The attention of UNITY readers is earnestly invited to the prospectus of the proposed International People's College in Denmark, published this week in "The Field." Peter Manniche, the sponsor of the scheme, is now in this country, seeking from American liberals a fund of not less than $100,000 for scholarships for American students. The intellectual and spiritual basis of the college is laid down in the following enlightened principles:

1. The love of fellowmen for each other extends far beyond national boundaries.
2. The love of God surmounts all human barriers.
3. Human society is one great body whose limbs, each in its particular way, should contribute to the well-being of the whole.

Here, it may be said, is the platform of UNITY. In the articles of this faith, Jenkin Lloyd Jones lived and taught through more than forty years; and his successors are now striving to carry on his work. We hope that the proposed college in Denmark will be successfully established, and draw students from all nations of the earth. We hope also that to the many distinguished Englishmen who are supporting the enterprise—among others, Sir Oliver Lodge, Dr. Scott Holland, Rev. L. P. Jacks, Arnold Rountree, Philip Snowden, and Arthur Henderson—will be added the names of many equally distinguished Americans. This country must have hand and heart and purse in this great movement.

SONG.

A sunshine heart,
And a soul of song,
Love for hate,
And right for wrong;
Softly speak to the weak,
Help them along,
A sunshine heart,
And a soul of song.

A sunshine heart,
And a soul of song,
What though about thee
Foemen throng?
All the day, on thy way,
Be thou strong;
A sunshine heart,
And a soul of song.

—*Robert Loveman.*

Prosperity and Stagnation

Some of our European friends during the war found us wanting in essentials, and some who have been here during this year of peace have gone back to Europe puzzled by what they call our attitude of mind. They say they don't know what to make of us. Now we refer not to the badgering criticism of certain journalists, nor the comments of flippant officials who have passed over our land in some "drive" for something, and who, after all, spent most of their short visit in our large cities where committees of various kinds for particular purposes showed the visitors the sights. The observations of these critics of our manners and customs, do not concern us much, because we know fairly well they have no real interest in our social salvation. But we might heed what is said of us by men and women who speak our tongue, and who have shown in many ways that they do care, care earnestly and deeply, for all that is fine in our charatcer and generous in our conduct. We are told our prosperity has not been good for us. It has been abused, and it has brought about a paralysis of those spiritual and mental processes which were fine in our people a generation or so ago. We are told we live from hand to mouth, move in the momentary present, and exist in a whirl of mere business and superficial pleasure.

We admit people and things are different now. Old stagers, whose memory of us goes back a generation, must notice considerable changes. Prosperity drawn from privilege, always brings deleterious consequences, and why we should escape the usual course of folk who wax fat in the flesh, cannot be determined. But prosperity is not like rain which falls on the just and the unjust alike: prosperity falls in the main upon a small percentage of people. It is not, therefore, against the masses our visitors level their criticism, for they have had little or no chance of getting in touch with them. Indeed, there is no country in the world where, in our large cities, the gulf which lies between the prosperous and the mass of folk is so wide as it is here. Therefore, the criticism must be met by our well-to-do people who have been the self-constituted representatives of America during these busy years of making war, when all independent thought was stilled, and every characteristic of our native bigness and breadth was suppressed. The fact is we have been seen at a fearful disadvantage.

What is it our critical friends object to in our conduct of life? A very candid critic from the north of Ireland, St. John G. Ervine, a brilliant novelist and dramatist, told a large company at the National Arts Club in New York that one of our faults was worship of work and the glorification of the successful business man. Well, no one will deny the truth of this charge. We have made work our creed and riches our

god. Mr. Ervine said this fact was noticeable to a startling degree in the literature of most of our magazines. He said the stories were usually about heroes of business, hurrying, rushing, hither and thither, in pursuit of material gain. The villains of such stories were, he pointed out, usually addicted to music, poetry, or painting. Mr. Ervine uttered a warning against the worship of business success, and urged us to regard his criticism seriously. He said we were making a profound mistake, and we ought to realize speedily the error of our ways.

He is perfectly right. This mad chase after prosperity is the most pernicious influence at work in our life, and it is now paralyzing the nerve centers of every fine impulse of our people to rise to a higher plane of culture and refinement. What is life without art? Just what our visitors have seen every day in the week, no matter where they mix with society—here in the metropolis, and in Washington, the dull capital of our business world. To them our life seems to be a round of costly pleasures: feasting, dressing, speculating, gaming and chatting. "The people of the Jazz-band mind," is a stinging reflection on our jerky, noisy, scrambling methods of "getting through life." We fly from thought to lectures, from serious books to the smatterer's digest, from reflection to the "movie," from home to a restaurant—fly, anywhere, everywhere, so long as we fly away from ourselves and self-examination. We shout duty from morning till night at others, but "get mad" when duty "is up to us." We hire others "to put it over" for us, but squeal when we are asked "to put it over" by our own exertion. "Let George do it" is the system prosperity has set up.

Have we no sense of humor? Are we really blind to our faults? Do we really imagine our European friends are taken in by our hospitality and lavish display? We had a sense of humor before prosperity dulled the edge of our imagination. We were not oblivious to our faults before the clever Europeans came in hordes to catch our prosperous ones "at hoodman's blind." There was a time when our social life was based on a solid foundation, and our society—what the visitors meet and see—was worth cultivating for certain intellectual and artistic qualities characteristically American. Now it is sad to hear our friends "from the other side" refer to that past which contained the good we now cherish so little.

What are riches if they do not bring to us the precious things which make life worth living; which inspire our aims and ennoble our achievement, revive our spiritual endeavor, and unite us all in an effort to make the world a better place for those who come after us? Riches, after all, are not in themselves the mainsprings of culture, they are merely media which may be put to good public use, but only by wise, far-seeing men and women. Riches, such riches as are possessed by certain Americans, are the symptoms of a false economic system which in its development makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. Many of our universities, research and welfare institutions, and other representations of charitably-minded multi-milloinaires, are certain indications of gross economic injustice; and it is this underlying injustice of our civilization which has eaten like cancer into the very fabric of our life and attainment as a people. It has caused an unequal distribution of wealth, and in so doing it has widened the gulf lying between prosperity and poverty, with the same old historic result: the prosperous are cursed with spiritual poverty and intellectual unrest, while the poor are cursed with physical and material impoverishment.

Prosperity drawn from privilege must be followed by intellectual and spiritual stagnation. All empires of the past have suffered this fate. Have we now reached the stage in the scramble for privilege and riches when prosperity will bring into view its dogged follower stagnation? The signs are manifest; for in the streets there are placarded urgent appeals to us to give what we can to assist in "improving the condition of the poor." We see the effect of soaring rents, and what the increasing value of land in the districts where the poor exist has done to deprive the least able of our folk of a chance to maintain a decent standard of life. The war has undoubtedly hastened the appearance of the blight which always follows in the train of Mammon. The shadow of stagnation creeps toward us all, and there is none in the land to tell us how to escape the blight which will encompass us closer in its grip as the shadow of stagnation deepens; none, because prosperity has sapped our spiritual forces in society, it has frozen the fertile mind of our middle class. Hence the meaningless babble of the platforms, with never a positive suggestion from the self-styled leaders of economic and political thought. Shibboleth and platitude fill the political air with confusion.

We, however, need no new creed, no new god, to restore our economic and social strength. Though the government and its busy men have done their worst to emasculate the basic principles of our constitution, there is enough vigor of old liberty left to enable the real American spirit—the inspiration of old—to assert itself, and once more reveal to the world the nobility of a people demanding the restoration of their rights. This can be done, and shall be done, for America cannot fail. Our new world has this distinction above the old, we began our republican history without the defects which had grown up and were deeply embedded in the economic and political systems of Europe. The defects which we have let grow up here are young in root, and can easily be removed by constitutional process. Violence is always unnecessary; here, it can be only the futile notion of a fanatic.

We can destroy privilege by the reform of our tax laws. With privilege gone, wealth should be distributed equitably, and the gulf which yawns between rich and poor can be bridged by taxation, perhaps closed, without restricting initiative, or robbing the individual of the fruits of his labor. Abolish privilege and dissipate the lop-sided prosperity which endangers the general well-being, and destroys the spiritual and intellectual powers of our people, and there shall be released once more all the constructive forces of our real character.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

SELECTED

In One Life-Time

1840-1920

I. The Abolition of Slavery.
From mobs at the North against Abolitionists, to Amendments XIII, XIV, XV, of the United States Constitution.

II. The Temperance Movement.
From small Total Abstinence Societies, up to yesterday's Prohibition Amendment XVIII.

III. The Emancipation of Woman.
From the first Woman's Rights Convention (1848), through progressive rights to property, children, occupations, education, up to the Suffrage Amendment XIX of today.

IV. The Peace Movement.
From Peace Societies of a few idealists, up to the Covenants of the League and the beginnings of an Internationalized World.

V. Growing Justice to Labor.
From Capitalism enthroned, through benevolent Feudalism, to the dawn of Industrial Democracy and social re-constructions accordant therewith.

VI. Political Democracy.
From a world almost wholly "imperialistic," to "government of the people, by the people, for the people," permeating more and more every Government on earth.

VII. Deepening Social Consciousness.
Generating all sorts of welfare movements protective of children, defectives, prisoners, captives, dumb animals,—the victims and forgotten of society.

VIII. The Changing Emphasis in Religion.
From ritual and creed towards morals,—and ever on towards "Freedom, Fellowship, Character and Service in Religion."

All these are things of the Heart and Conscience, making for Justice, Brotherhood, Love among men.

Add the things of the Mind—the discoveries of Science and the great Inventions of the eighty years, each one a new revelation and pledge of the friendliness of Nature when understood and obeyed.

Note carefully, too, that, with all its sin and horror and suffering, the seeming effect of the War just over has been to accelerate each and all of these movements towards good.

If ever we gloom and lose courage amid the unrest of the days, let us ask ourselves in the light of these changes,

Is it a world growing worse, or a world growing better, and swiftly better, that the old of today are handing over to the young?

Not one of these reforms is complete; not one but is trailing old evils behind it and opening new problems and difficulties ahead of its own. And not one but confirms the belief that the roots of hold-back and failure and wrong in the relations of men are, first, ignorance,—then, selfishness; both roots with patience eradicable. It is no time for quiet hands. There *is* a growing music in the world; but

Though God gives skill,
'Tis not without men's hands: *He* could not make
Antonio Stradivari's violins without Antonio.

Turmoil around and peril ahead,—and the Spirit making for Right and Beauty and Joy through all! Remembering what lies within the horizon of the passing generation, ought we to gloom and fear, or rather to cherish a cheerful faith that man, with that Spirit working within him, can and will accomplish his best aspirations? And more,—that, if he will, he can do this through patience and gentleness, instead of through violence?

—W. C. Gannett.

March 13, 1920, *Rochester, N. Y.*

. . . It is not strange, in the light of its secret motives and processes, that division, not unity or concord, comes out of Paris. For in the material motive, in the individual and national egotisms issuing therefrom, there is no uniting principle. The material motive always divides: it is the spiritual motive only that unites. It is the material motive that shapes the swords of division—that creates the mine and the thine of individuals and classes and nations. And from mine and thine come the wars, and the most of mortal woes: and from mine and thine comes also the advancing dissolution of the present world. . . .

The forms of the new world will not be fashioned by the clash of armies. Brotherhood cannot issue from war between states, from war between classes. Not through division but through union, not through conflict but through conciliation and co-operation, not through more death but through more life, not down the broad ways of hate but up the highways of love, and by climbing them hardly, shall we envision the new heaven and effectuate the new earth. . . .

Wherefore I wish that soon, rising from barracks and universities, from factories and farms, the young men and women who are looking for a better peace than Paris, for that fraternal peace which Paris prevented from becoming, would organize themselves into a Young Europe—into the Young Europe which Joseph Mazzini, first and sublimest of international statesmen, so vainly yet valorously essayed. . . . I wish that this resolved and consecrate Young Europe, permitting no political party to purloin and exploit its high purpose, would set before the nations the goal, also by Mazzini acclaimed, of universal association in freedom and universal freedom in association.

The World Tomorrow. *—George D. Herron.*

THE PULPIT

The Price of Peace: Are We Willing to Pay It?

By John Haynes Holmes, Minister of the Community Church

One of the first lessons that is taught us in our lives, and one of the last that we ever really learn, is that everything in this world has its price. There is nothing either good or bad that can be obtained without our paying for it. In saying this I do not have in mind the buying and selling of material things in the market-place for money—the thing which James Russell Lowell referred to in the "Vision of Sir Launfal," when he wrote that

Earth gets its price for what earth gives us.

Rather do I have in mind the fact that if we want to do anything or be anything, if we desire to become remarkable for any achievements or qualities of virtue, we must be willing to pay the price in terms of moral and spiritual sacrifice.

If a man, for example, desires to be an athlete, or a woman to be beautiful, they must pay the price of physical exercise and temperate living. If a youth dreams of journeying far into the realms of intellect, of becoming a great scholar and writing books which shall be regarded as authoritative, he must make up his mind to deny himself the pleasures of friendship and social intercourse, and devote long years to the seclusion of the laboratory and the study. If a woman decides to marry—or a man for that matter!—she must be ready to pay the price of sharing her life with another person; and if she purposes to enter upon the great adventure of motherhood, she must give hostages to fortune which will exact the last farthing of toilsome days and sleepless nights, of anxiety and care, and sometimes of the most terrible sorrow that can be laid upon a human heart. The same thing is true of more famous, if less familiar, forms of human action. Thus as we listen to Fritz Kreisler playing his violin, we are moved not merely by constant wonder at his artistry, but also by more or less unconscious reverence for the years of unremitting labor which have given him such mastery of his instrument. When Lieutenant Peary discovered the North Pole, we thought not merely of the miracle of his feat, but also of the price which he had paid for this immortal triumph in terms of loneliness and cold, of suffering and the constant hazard of death. I never can open the pages of Charles Darwin's "Origin of Species," the greatest book produced by the nineteenth century, without remembering that behind that book stand twenty years of exhausting study in the garden and the laboratory, and a body permanently broken in health. I repeat that there is nothing to be had in this life without payment of its price. "Eternal vigilance," says one teacher, "is the price of liberty." Emerson asserts that if we would have a friend we must pay the price of being one. St. Paul speaks the solemn adjuration that "the wages of sin is death." Even God, if I may so express it, has his price, despite the promise of Lowell that

God may be had for the asking;

for foolish is that man who tries to lay hold upon the realities of the divine spirit who is not willing to pay the price of serious thought, long hours of prayer and meditation, and much love and service for his fellowmen.

Now it is this great truth that everything has its price which I propose this morning to apply to the problem of peace between the nations of the earth. Through how many centuries of agony and despair has man been yearning for the establishment of peace! From the beginning of his history, man has dreamed of the coming of a day when he should beat his swords into plough-shares and his spears into pruning-hooks, and walk unhindered the fruitful ways of amity and concord. Prophets have proclaimed this day; statesmen have negotiated for it; soldiers have repeatedly fought for it; but century has followed upon century, and never yet has the longed-for day appeared. Here we are, nearly two thousand years after the advent of Him who was crowned the Prince of Peace, and we seem to be as far away from the accomplishment of peace as ever. Nay, I am sometimes persuaded, these days, that we are farther away from this goal of which we dream, than man has ever been through all the many eras of the years gone by. Thus, I cannot forget that in ancient times there was a long period known as the *Pax Romana,* during which the whole world of civilization, sheltered beneath the protecting egis of the Roman Empire, was delivered from all "wars and rumors of wars." So also, in the Middle Ages, when the world knew not the curse of nationalism and still had conscious reverence for the ideals of religion, there were periods set apart by the Roman Pope for what was called the Truce of God, when kings laid by their swords, and peasants sowed their fields and reaped their harvests without fear of being summoned to take up arms. In our day, however, war, or the fear of war, is ever with us. Our age also is the first in history which has known the burden of competitive armaments, the practice of universal military conscription, and the vast menace of high explosives. War is with us today more terribly, and more constantly, than it has ever been in the past. In spite of all his yearning, man in every age has failed to work out the problem of peace; and never has his failure been more conspicuous than in modern times.

Twice within a period of a hundred years has the goal of peace been within sight; and twice has this goal, thus almost won, been missed. The first time was in 1815, at the great Congress of Vienna, which met to reorder the distracted world after the long period of the Napoleonic wars. The European statesmen of that era met with the one purpose of so organizing the nations of the continent that they would never again be obliged to take up arms against one another. To the Austrian capital there journeyed a noble man, the head of the one nation most responsible for the overthrow of Napoleon, the Czar Alexander of Russia, who was pledged to the great adventure of joining the states of Europe into a permanent alliance of good will. Behind these statesmen were peoples wearied of war, and yearning with unutterable passion for the ending of their sufferings from the strife of arms. These statesmen met and conferred, wrote their treaties of peace, and launched with great acclaim the famous Holy Alliance. But scarcely had they dispersed when the storm clouds were again hanging low over the European continent; and we know today that their Congress, so far from establishing peace, sowed in European soil those dragon's teeth of oppression and discord which have in

our time sprung up into the monstrous harvest of the Great War.

The second failure to attain this goal of peace is that which has just been recorded in the great Conference at Paris. Here again was a gathering of statesmen met to bring to a close a long-continued and universal struggle. Again people were wearied with strife, sick of hatred and bloodshed, hungry for reconciliation and friendship. Again there journeyed to the council-board the high-minded leader of a great nation, pledged to such reorganization of the peoples of the world as should end forever the menace of international strife. Now less than a year has passed since this second great Conference announced the results of its labors, and started to establish the new order of international relationships; and already we know that like the Congress of Vienna which preceded it by just a hundred years, the Congress of Paris has failed of its purpose. Even during those days when the premiers and presidents were conferring in Paris, no less than twenty-three wars, in which heavy artillery was being used on the field of battle, were being waged in various parts of Europe. Never once since the Conference dispersed, has the sword been sheathed or the artillery silenced. Already we see the great powers of the world arming themselves to the teeth for the next great war which they know must come in less than a generation. Thus again, and yet again, does man fail to attain his end. Longing for peace, he has only war—war more frequent and even more terrible! Something is wrong here, something that must be done has not been done. And I would ask you if it is not at least possible that man, face to face with the challenge of peace, has found himself unwilling to pay the price which peace exacts; or, if willing, has been ignorant of what this price has really involved?

I sometimes picture the situation in my own mind as follows: Here behind the world's great bargain counter, there stands the guardian angel of humanity. Her right hand, extended to mankind, holds the infinitely precious commodity of peace; her left hand, empty, reaches forth to receive the price for which alone this commodity can be sold. Man stands before this counter eager to strike the bargain which will give to him this lovely boon. He offers in payment iron, copper, brass, even silver; but never yet, through all the ages gone, has he offered the coin of pure gold, for which alone the commodity which he desires can be purchased. Always the angel extends the gift, but always her other hand remains empty of the gold which she must have. The price of peace!—it is this which man has failed to pay.

Now it is this question of the price of peace which I propose to discuss with you this morning. I shall not attempt to lay down any detailed program for the establishment of international order. I am not concerned with the details of political and economic reforms, which make up the items of such a program. Rather is it my intention to leave behind me these lowlands of ways and means, and mount this morning to those high tablelands of the spirit, where we can encounter those general principles or ideals which must be the inspiration of any successful program of reform. I shall deal, therefore, not with details of procedure, but with those generalizations of comprehensive understanding and vision in which all such details are necessarily involved. And from this standpoint may I say that, to my mind, the price of peace means today, as it has always meant in the centuries gone by, three very definite and fundamental things. I venture to name and discuss each one of these in order:

(1) First of all, I would point out that the price of peace is the abolition of war and all the things of war. This would seem to be an elementary proposition, for peace by its very definition means the absence of armed conflict, does it not? And yet nothing is more evident than the fact that men have always persisted in the idea that it is possible to establish peace upon the earth and still not surrender the luxury of war. In other words, we are victims, in this particular case, as in so many others, of the silly superstition that it is possible to eat our cake and have it too.

The reason for this extraordinary notion that peace can be secured and war retained at one and the same time, is to be attributed, I believe, to our failure to understand what the nature of warfare between nations really is. For war is not confined to the struggle and carnage of the battlefield. Conflict is joined not merely when the guns are fired, the swords unsheathed, and the soldiers ordered "over the top." War is an atmosphere and a condition, it is an anticipation and a preparation. It is an attitude of one group of men toward another group, and the consequences which are sooner or later bound to follow upon this attitude. It is a power latent as well as active, existent in elements before as well as after the moment of explosion. I always think of war as best illustrated by the analogy of a volcano. When we stand before Mt. Etna, for example, we are told by our guide that this great mountain is an active volcano. It looks to us to be peaceful enough. Its sides are clothed with pleasant verdure; all up and down its lower slopes are the vineyards cultivated by the tireless peasantry. Only now and then is there wafted from the summit a little whiff of dull black smoke. And we do not understand the significance of this waving plume until we climb the mountain, and come to the jagged crest. Then, as we peer over the lips of the crater down through its yawning mouth into the bowels of the hill, we suddenly see that mass of boiling lava and flaming gas which tells us of the hell which is hidden behind those vine-clad slopes. Now we know what is meant by those occasional whiffs of smoke which streak the clear blue of the Italian sky. The volcano is alive; and sooner or later, at some moment unforeseen, there is certain to come that vast eruption which will spread destruction and death throughout the country side.

Such is the phenomenon of war as it exists in the days which we describe as days of peace. We gazed on Europe, for example, in the period preceding the stupendous cataclysm of 1914, much as we might gaze on Etna today, and found everything quiet and reposeful. Here were busy cities and teeming farming lands, friendly peoples living in happy concord with their neighbors. Then came the whiffs of smoke from Fashoda, Agadir, the Balkans, Asia Minor; and we looked a little more carefully to see what was signified by these sudden clouds. Then suddenly did we see, what was so carefully hidden from our eyes, that Europe was not at peace at all, but at war. The eruption of armed conflict, to be sure, had not come. The war was in a state of suspended rather than active animation. But here, in the diplomatic maneuverings and debates, in the alliances and balances of

power, in the strategic frontiers and buffer states, in the gigantic competing armaments on land and sea, above all in the jealousies, suspicions and hatreds generated in the hearts of governments and peoples, was the flaming lava which some day was certain to boil over the yawning crater of European dissension, and bury the world beneath its consuming flood of arms. Never in our time has Europe been at peace! Do you suppose, for example, that Germany made war on England only in 1914? On the contrary, the Kaiser declared war against England when he organized his conscript army, fortified Heligoland, and began the building of his high seas fleet. Do you imagine that England took up arms against Germany only at that fateful moment when the German legions broke the frontier of Belgium? On the contrary, England began her fight against the Teuton when she established her two-power navy, organized her "territorials," and made her armed alliance with France and Russia in the west and the Empire of Japan in the East. Always in this modern age has war been with us. Our psychology is a war psychology, our economy a war economy. The whole vast structure of our civilization has been builded in the fear of war, and to the end of victory in war. In spite of all our pretenses, and all the elaborate camouflage of our outward life, we live in conflict and not in concord with our brothers. Ours is the dishonest cry of the ancient prophet, "Peace, peace, when there is no peace."

Now it is this understanding of war which leads me to the categorical declaration that the condition or price of peace is the total abolition of war—war latent as well as active, war in preparation as well as in explosion. "Over the thin and intermittent pipings of peace," wrote Israel Zangwill, before the Great War, "crash the imperturbable hammers of the War Devil, fashioning his ships, the great furnaces roar, forging his cannons, the war drum beats, the trumpet blares, the kings go to their thrones to the sound of tramping soldiers, the great captains of industry, the chiefs of art and learning, thrust into the background, hidden away like poor relations. So long as the War Devil dictates the very symbols of our civilization, he will remain the master." It is these symbols, both of thought and action, which must be removed, if international peace is to be achieved. And this means at least three things.

In the first place, we must rid ourselves forever of all the corruptive trappings which accompany the processes of war. The uniforms and the brass bands, the flags and the banners, the arches of victory and the processions of triumph, all the pageantry and pomp in which we have agreed to wrap this monstrous thing, to hide its naked horror—it is these which we must banish, if we are ever to be delivered from the great holocaust of arms. For there is a magic about the glare and glitter of militarism which is irresistible. The war-makers have been good psychologists in making their business to be, in its popular phases at least, a ceremony of color for the eye and music for the ear. Do you remember how Richard Le Gallienne, the pacifist poet, confesses his helpless enslavement to the pageantry of arms. "War," he writes, in a familiar poem:

War
I abhor.

And yet he says:

How sweet
The sound along the marching street
Of drum and fife . . .
. . . even my peace-abiding feet
Go marching with the marching street,
For yonder, yonder, goes the fife,
And what care I for human life!
The tears fill my astonished eyes
And my full heart is like to break.

This is the witchery which besets us all—and which must be exorcised if ever we are to win peace. Le Gallienne is right when he says, in this same poem, that it is wicked to apparel such a monstrous thing as war in outward beauty:

. . . like a queen
That in a garden of glory walks.

To hide this "hideous grinning thing,"

'Till good men love the thing they loathe,

"is infamy." The skull-head should be revealed, that men may hate it, and put it by forever.

Again, we must abolish war by abolishing the foul philosophy which teaches us that war is, or may be, a goodly thing. How assiduously was this doctrine of the blessings of war cultivated during the great struggle against Germany! How were we deceived, how did we deceive ourselves, into believing that war was bringing positive benefits to compensate for its cruel costs! The purging character of the strife, the good effects of military discipline upon our untrained youth, the spiritual exaltation of their great adventure for democracy, the ennobling influences of their dedication to the country's cause, the religious revival which was certain to follow upon such profound experiences of life and death—how did we prate these silly lies to keep our courage up! And now, when we know the figures of disease and slaughter, and stand completely disillusioned before the whole colossal spectacle of spiritual corruption, there are still those who would tell us of the good of war, and through universal military training, and similarly wicked devices, carry over into peace this alleged good. Of these deceits we must be cured forever, if we are ever to have a peace which is enduring. War is not good—it is evil. War has no blessings to offer to mankind—only ills unnumbered and of every kind. War is "collective homicide." War is the deliberate business of preparing for and consummating murder by wholesale. War is lust, and hate, and killing, and revenge. It is of the devil, and not of God; it is of hell, and not of heaven, or even of earth. For this I do not ask you to take my word, who have had no personal experience of this ghastly thing. Let me give you the witness of one who knows—Siegfried Sassoon, the English poet, who served England on the western front for four long years. He has seen war in all its phases, has participated in war in the highest and noblest spirit. And in his poems, written in the trenches with riven and anguished soul, he speaks his authoritative word against its horrors. In the preface to his second volume of poems, entitled "Counter-Attack," he says: "Let no one ever from henceforth say a word in any way countenancing war. . . . For war is hell, and those who institute it are criminals. Were there anything to say for it, it should not be said, for its spiritual disasters far outweigh any of its advantages."

But we must go deeper yet. We must not only rid ourselves of the pageantry and of the philosophy of war, but also of that whole monstrous superstition,

of which war is but a single though most terrible expression, that violence can accomplish anything. We must fling away the doctrine that force, even disciplined force, used under plea of necessity, for ends in themselves good, can ever achieve the benefits we seek. Need anyone argue this point since the exhibition of what the Great War has brought to the world? War, as we now see, can destroy governments and ruin peoples. It can sweep with the scourge of death nations victorious, as well as nations conquered in battle. It can bring civilization to the brink of destruction, and fling man back to primeval realms of barbarism and chaos. But it can bring no freedom, no spiritual redemption, no boon of peace. Never under any circumstances can war avail us anything constructive. Always is there a better weapon to wield in our defense, a safer road to travel to our goal. Hence must force be altogether put out of our lives, and reason and good will planted in its stead!

One man there was in Paris who saw this truth that the price of peace is the total and unconditional abolition of war. It is my belief that Woodrow Wilson crossed the seas with his vision perfectly clear upon this point, that if the Conference was to establish peace, it must definitely end war. As he took his seat at that fateful table in Paris, it was in his heart and mind to disband armies and navies, dismember strategic alliances, reconstruct the whole system of European civilization on a basis of mutual confidence and aid. On the other side of that same table, however, was another man, cruel, vindictive, fearful, pledged to the restoration of the old order which had wrecked the world. During the war this man, Premier Clemenceau, had been a triumphant leader of his people, a great war minister; for that very reason was he utterly unfitted for the task of peace. He did not believe in peace; war was the game in which he had been victorious, and which he naturally enough, therefore, desired to see continued. Between these men sat Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England, inclined by personal conviction to see things as the American President saw them, but with the single reservation that the British Empire must not under any condition abandon its armed mastery of the seas. It was this reservation, combined with the shell-shocked militarism of France, which wrecked the Conference on this issue of abolishing war. The Conference was called for the specific purpose of establishing a peace that should endure. But it was unwilling to pay the price of such a peace. Therefore is war still with us on a dozen scattered fronts; and the great powers of the world already arming themselves to the teeth for the next universal conflict foredoomed in "the madness of Versailles."

(To be continued.)

LIVE AND HELP LIVE.

"Live and let live!" was the call of the Old—
The call of the world when the world was cold—
The call of men when they pulled apart—
The call of the race with a chill on the heart.

But "Live and help live!" is the cry of the New—
The cry of the world with the Dream shining through—
The cry of the Brother World rising to birth—
The cry of the Christ for a Comrade Earth.

The Nautilus —*Edwin Markham.*

THE STUDY TABLE

The Brass Check*

"News, is the raw material of thought, and until people have honest news, they cannot be expected to do any intelligent thinking." These words may be said to have furnished the underlying impulse of that terrific expose of American Journalism, by Upton Sinclair, "The Brass Check," which shows in a most convincing way, supported by unimpeachable testimony from all sorts and conditions of witnesses—that a vast amount of current news is suppressed, because it is in some way unfavorable to the interests which control the papers; that such news as gets into print is deplorably colored and distorted: that deliberate falsehoods are frequently invented; and that—last but by no means least—reprehensible people and institutions misrepresented, are refused space to defend themselves.

This book absolutely bears out the oft repeated comment—"Journalism, once a profession, later a trade, now a crime!" The author has shown that great systems for the corruption of the press have been established and that bribery in that field has become a large-scale business enterprise; and he shows this to be a fact fully revealed by government investigation, and proven by the sworn testimony of those who do the work.

"The methods by which the 'Empire of Business' maintains its control over Journalism are four," says Mr. Sinclair. "First, ownership of the papers; second, ownership of the owners; third, advertising subsidies; and fourth, direct bribery."

And he goes on to point out that because of this, there exists in America today a control of news and of current comment more absolute than any monopoly in any other industry. As a commentary on this statement he refers us to a book written by that *rara avis,* a bold and truthtelling newspaper editor, Fremont Older's startling record of the inside of a newspaper office entitled "My Own Story." This book, by the way, was met by silence on the part of the American press, such a speaking silence as will also greet "The Brass Check."

"Mr. Older tells with the utmost frankness," says Mr. Sinclair, "how he played the 'dirty game' for the owner of his paper, until little by little his mind and heart and conscience awakened and he took his stand for righteousness in his city, and fought the enemies of righteousness not merely at the peril of his job but at peril of his life."

The story of the San Francisco *Bulletin,* says Mr. Sinclair, "is one of corruption, systematic and continuous. It was controlled in all four of the ways I have enumerated"; and he quotes from Mr. Older himself:

In addition to this the "Bulletin" was on the pay roll of the Southern Pacific Railroad for $125 a month. This was paid not for any definite service but merely for "friendliness." Being always close to the line of profit and loss, it was felt the paper could not afford to forfeit this income.

There follows the significant comment by Mr. Sinclair, and now Fremont Older having been forced out of the "Bulletin," the paper has become rancid in the cause of reaction and announces its proprietor (he of the itching palm) as its editor.

It is hoped that the reader of this review will not take this as an isolated case. Rather is it, as the author of "The Brass Check" shows by well substantiated

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**The Brass Check.* An Expose of American Journalism. By Upton Sinclair.

testimony, a typical case. It is merely one of the countless tales of journalistic prostitution that has leaked out. Generally speaking such tales are kept from the public ear.

We are told in this amazing book not only how Big Business maintains its control of the Press but why. We see the Press as one of the bulwarks of what Woodrow Wilson has characterized as the "Invisible Government," of what Lincoln Steffens calls the "System." We know Journalism for what it is,—one of the devices, and the most effective device, whereby industrial autocracy keeps its control over political democracy; and after reading it we see why, notwithstanding our constitution we are not the politically free people that we should be—why we are not as free as is England under a King. We see individual autocrats of the Invisible Government as the owners, the supporters, the bribers or the "friends" of our press. We realize that as Europe has the "reptile" press we have a "prostitute" press giving value received for its "brass check"—the sign of its shame,—a press whose editors, generally speaking, must be prepared to hold themselves ready at a day's notice to adjust their opinions to the pocket-book of whoever may acquire the paper that pays their salaries.

We are told that there are perhaps a dozen newspapers in the country that exist to assert the rights of the majority group in this country,—that the other daily newspapers represent and serve the privileged minority, that is Big Business; and when we read what the author has to say about the Associated Press, which was publicly charged not long since with poisoning the reservoir of Public Opinion at its source (a charge that was met by a libel suit which was never allowed to come into the courts); when we are told by a lawyer of the standing of Samuel Untermeyer:

> The little clique that controls the Associated Press is in turn under the complete domination of a few of the most narrow-minded and reactionary of the great capitalists of the country. If our Government fails to stand the strain of these terrible times, and if revolution and bloodshed follow —which God forbid!—the responsibility will rest at the doors of men like Gary and law-breakers like the U. S. Steel Co. who lack all vision and sense of justice.

We do not find it hard to believe this indictment, sweeping as it is! In further support of his charges against the Associated Press, Mr. Sinclair quotes these words written by an editor of a western weekly to Professor Ross of the University of Wisconsin:

> You wish to know my "confidential opinion as to the honesty of the Associated Press." My opinion, not confidential, is that it is the damndest, meanest monopoly on the face of the earth—the wet nurse for all other monopolies. It lies by day, it lies by night, and it lies for the very lust of lying. Its news gatherers, I sincerely believe, only obey orders.

With Big Business owning the newspapers and owning the Associated Press the vicious circle of corruption is complete. We begin to see light in the dark places and many hitherto unexplainable things become clear to us,—the prejudice of the masses against Socialism and "radicalism," for instance (more than that the utterly false interpretations of these fine words); also the country-wide misunderstanding regarding conditions in Russia, now being somewhat modified. The "sacredness" of property and the "cheapness" of human life as seen by 99 out of every 100 people, today are easier to comprehend in the light of the recognition of this penetrative, corruptive influence, as well as the false estimate concerning the true inwardness of I. W. W.'ism and the attitude of society in general toward the whole labor situation.

And last but not least in face of the evidence presented in this book,—the almost unbelievable reaction of a whole people toward our entrance into an unjust European war is seen in its true perspective and proportions!

If the author of "The Brass Check" had done nothing else but expose the true character of our Associated Press (which a well known Russian once characterized as worse than any censorship of the Czar) he would have left us greatly in his debt.

Seeing the press as the servant of things-as-they-ought-not-to-be, the reader will naturally be led to look more closely than ever before into the workings of a system that has practically captured our government and is running it in the interest not of the people as a whole, but of a small privileged class,—and it is evidently the intention of Mr. Sinclair not only to stimulate but to throw many interesting and informative sidelights on such an inquiry. Moreover in the enormous body of facts which he presents, — seeing glimpses of the prostitution of the pulpit and the platform, of education, of politics and of the law—it is borne in upon the reader that all this corruption is simply a result of a wrong system, and that its causes lie deeper than at first appear; then, lo and behold, he is in great danger of becoming a "radical" in the real sense of the word,—in that he will in all probability be led to study root causes!

> "Just imagine," says the author of "The Brass Check," "were the newspapers of America to print the truth for ten days! . . . I say that if all the legitimate truth could be placed before the American people for ten successive days instead of the mess of triviality, scandal, crime, and sensation, doctored news and political dope, prejudiced editorials and sordid and vulgar advertisements upon which the American people are now fed—I say that the world would be transformed and Democracy would be safe."

Then he proposes a plan for an honest newspaper, published not to make money but to convey information and serve the public interest; and asks all those interested in such a venture to volunteer their aid in getting such a publication under way. Surely one and all of us can say, relative to such a task, what Mr. Sinclair says of the building of the world of the future, in which the equal rights of all men shall be recognized by law:

> "Go to it with joy and certainty, playing your part in the making of the new world. . . . That world lies just before you and the gates to it are barred only by ignorance and prejudice, deliberately created and maintained by prostitute journalism"—and we may well ask with him, "Why cannot the men and women of this great profession (journalism) form a society with a common mind and a common interest and a common conscience, based upon the fact that they are all necessary, they have each, down to the humblest office boy, their essential part in a great social service?"

Why not, indeed!

B. G. W. W.

DANAE IN THE FACTORY.

Once in the day he comes in liquid gold
That burns a passage through the dingy pane—
The Sun-god, irresistible and bold—
And gives her youth again.

She lifts her thin cheek to his kiss of fire;
The half-made garment drops from out her hand;
Her tired eyes close, to dream of her desire—.
Though here all dreams are banned.

New York Times. —*Florence Van Cleve.*

CONTRIBUTED

The International League for Peace and Freedom

Slowly but surely the forces which make for the establishment of permanent peace and love and brotherhood and which are against recourse to war as a means of settling international disputes are rallying again and organizing for renewed efforts after the disintegrating effect upon their ranks which the late war inevitably brought about.

That this is true was clearly proven at the National Convention of the American Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom which was held at the Abraham Lincoln Centre on April 23rd and 24th.

Fifty or more delegates, representing numerous states of the Union, gathered for a two-day session with an enthusiasm and earnestness and sanity of purpose which augurs well for the future of a real internationalism.

The daytime sessions were business meetings, open to delegates and local friends of the movement. From these sessions two or three matters of special interest stand out. The recent growth of the organization, following its subsidence during the war period, is most encouraging. The out-going President, Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, with the aid of the Executive Secretary, Mrs. Eleanor Daggett Karsten, has conducted a vigorous campaign for new memberships during the last four months, and despite lack of funds and adequate office room and assistance, has secured over four hundred new, paid-up members.

Then the reports of conditions in Europe were most interesting and moving. Miss Jane Addams, the International President, read at the Saturday morning session from a few of the hundreds of appealing letters that constantly pour in upon her from the women of the war-devastated countries, begging for food and supplies. It is now the professional and middle classes which are suffering most from lack of the simplest necessities of life. A letter which moved many of the delegates deeply because they had met at many European peace conferences the educated, refined gentlewoman from whom it came, and whom they could not picture as being obliged to beg for food, was written by Frau Olga Misar of Vienna. We quote a few sentences:

> It is a long time since I have written to you and now it is not to report of any success in work but, as in most letters that are sent out into the world from our unhappy country, to tell you of our misery and to ask for your kind help.
>
> I need not say how people suffer here. Not only quite poor people but such of the middle classes suffer most acutely from want. . . . Frau Beer-Angerer and I have many faithful adherents from the times when we worked hard, when working for peace was much more difficult and dangerous than now, and for these fellow-workers and comrades we should be happy to have something.
>
> I hope you do not take it amiss that I am writing this letter. I think if the position was opposite and we were able to help comrades in America with comparatively little sacrifice, we should do so gladly. So . . . I think it is the right thing to appeal to your kindness.

Another pathetic appeal came from a Vienna school teacher, who begs for one of the food drafts which can now be purchased at any American bank and sent over to be exchanged for provisions by those who need assistance. The quaint English of this letter but adds to its pathos:

> Now the desolate consequences of this cursed war strike also and merely the innocents, who were always adversers of this men-killing. We, poor middle class and intellectual laborers, suffer really hunger and cold! Our money does not reach for buying the necessary provisions; no milk, no eggs, no meat, no shoes, etc.!
>
> Though I cannot send you money, I will recompense your philanthropy against me with great thankfulness; being also paintress, I will send you a landscape of my pretty, poor native country. Please write me if you prefer a view in spring, summer, autumn or winter that I could content your taste. I hope that you will comply with my desire, perhaps in company with same-minded friends and help me for a while.

Miss Addams will be glad to forward through the proper channels any sums which may be sent her at Hull House, Chicago, for the relief of the starving women and children of Europe.

A recent appeal for Russia which had just come to Madame Raissa Lomonosoff at Hull House, Chicago, from her husband, who is now in Russia, is printed in full in "The Field," page 159.

There also may be found the Resolutions adopted by the Convention, its program for immediate action, its object, and a memorial to the political conventions. These are well worth careful reading, for they show a courage and firmness of conviction and devotion to the cause of human liberty which should commend the League to all of our readers who believe in justice and freedom.

At the afternoon session on Saturday, Miss Ella Abeel gave a brief outline of Mr. Luigi Carnovale's new pamphlet. "Only by the Abolition of Neutrality Can War be Quickly and Forever Prevented." A study of Mr. Carnovale's program for the abolition of war, which has already been reviewed at length in these columns, was recommended by the Convention to its Committee on International Relations.

At this session the officers for the coming year were elected. Miss Addams was again made Honorary Chairman, Mrs. Spencer is Honorary Vice-Chairman; the Chairman is Mrs. Henry G. Leach of New York City; Secretary, Mrs. Lucy Biddle Lewis of Lansdowne, Pa.; Treasurer, Mrs. Marion Cathrey of New York City.

An interesting report of Russian affairs was given by Mrs. Lewis following the Friday luncheon. Her daughter and son-in-law, Dr. and Mrs. John Richman, were with a Friends' Unit in Russia for a year and a half following the rise of the Soviet Republic. Their report but confirms the knowledge now rapidly spreading in this country, despite the attempts of the daily press to suppress all facts favoring the present Russian government. As Mrs. Lewis said to an official in Paris when he refused to allow the Quaker units to go into Russia to relieve the suffering, on the alleged ground that their lives would be in danger, if she as a mother would be only too grateful for the chance to send her daughter back to Russia, he need not expect that any who understand conditions there will be frightened by his statement. The Richmans were doing relief work in a small village in Southern Russia when it was taken first by the Bolshevik forces and then by the Czecho-Slovak forces, thus giving them opportunity to study the methods of the two forces. There was but little violence, few arrests and no executions under the first attack, while the Czecho-Slovaks arrested over a hundred citizens charged with being Bolsheviks and shot the greater number of them after a brief inquiry. Upon his return to America, Dr. Richman saw a report of this horror in a daily paper stating that it was the Czecho-Slovaks who were shot by the Soviet forces.

Two public sessions of the Convention were held. On Tuesday night, at Lincoln Centre, Professor Frederick Starr of the University of Chicago gave a most interesting address before a large audience on the subject of Mexico. Miss Jennie F. W. Johnson sang a Peace Song and Mrs. William Kent of California read a prayer by Mr. Jones which may be found at the head of the first column of this issue of UNITY.

On Saturday evening, at Hull House, dinner was served and a truly cosmopolitan and international program given, arranged by Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd of the Chicago Branch. Speakers from India and Japan, Australia and the Philippines, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, England and Ireland, members of the Negro race and of the great labor groups, all told briefly of the various interests they represented and the struggles for freedom in which all are engaged.

Mr. Sato, an able Japanese student at the University of Chicago, said that Japan had but followed the example of militarism and imperialism set by Europe and the United States and was striving by those methods to meet the need of her rapidly increasing population. This increase is now, however, being checked by the scientific methods of birth control, and the liberal element in Japan are opposed to her militaristic policy.

The young Philippine student pled for the fulfillment of America's pledge to his country that they would be given self-government. Mr. Wadai of India told of his efforts to organize labor unions among the exploited Indian workers and to raise these downtrodden classes to a consciousness of their oneness with the workers of all nations. Miss Alice Henry, an Australian, feared that as yet a real internationalism is far from full development in the hearts of even such a gathering as the one that evening, and urged a real brotherhood upon all people. Mrs. George Mathes of the Chicago Federation of Churches deplored the lack of internationalism among the churches, both in the membership and the clergy, and pled for a closer following of the teachings of Jesus. Mrs. Wilberforce Stougton, an English woman, who has done relief work in Germany and Austria, spoke with shame of the attitude her own country has taken toward the vanquished nations, and with bitter sorrow described the terrible conditions of famine and suffering under which the women and children of those countries are living, and the added horror wrought by the allied demand for the milch cows.

A most able and eloquent statement of the economic conditions which more cruelly than racial problems bind the people of his race, was given by Mr. Hardeon, a young Negro graduate of the University of Michigan. He urged the breaking of those economic chains which hold back the workers not alone of his own race but of all races from the opportunities for spiritual and intellectual development.

Rev. Irwin St. John Tucker, one of the five Socialist officials sentenced by Judge Landis to twenty years at Leavenworth, also outlined the economic causes at the basis of all wars, and all lack of brotherhood and human progress, and urged the solving of those problems which now force upon the great majority of people such severe struggle for the mere means of livelihood that they have no time or chance to reach after or enjoy the higher things of human living.

In closing the program, Mrs. Spencer and Miss Addams appealed for a wider sense of brotherhood, more love and friendliness between all races and classes, and an appreciation of the higher spiritual values. On this note of courage and aspiration closed the annual Convention of this group of high-minded American women who are devoted to the cause of human freedom, to the abolition of the enslaving and debasing influences which war always turns loose upon the world. UNITY's readers will do well to join this splendid group. The annual membership fee in the Chicago Branch is fifty cents; Secretary, Mrs. Thos. W. Allinson, Ravinia, Ill.; in the National Section, one dollar, and in the International League, five dollars. Checks and membership applications for the latter groups may be sent to Mrs. Eleanor Daggett Karsten, room 1616, 33 West 42nd St., New York City.

SUSAN QUACKENBUSH.

NEWS FROM EUROPE

Why Should Our Benefactors Go Unrewarded?

Not half enough public attention has been given to the fate, the other day, of the deputation from the Medical Committee of the House of Commons which sought to extract an annual grant of £20,000 from the Government to finance a system of awards for discoverers in medical science. Mr. Balfour received the deputation sympathetically enough, but he had large quantities of philosophic doubt for the scheme, pointing out the frequent difficulty of deciding what single man could be said to be actually responsible for a discovery. This, of course, is nice logic. But the average man will wonder why it should be applied only in this particular case, and not, for example, in the case of the inventor of a new gun. Engineering science is just as evolutionary as medical science, and the problem of deciding the real author of an innovation is just as difficult in the science of destroying life as in that of preserving it. Why, then, should a man of science like, for instance, Sir Ronald Ross, whose investigations into the cause and prevention of malaria may surely be described as having been as "original" as any innovation in military engineering, go unrewarded by his countrymen? It is again almost proverbially difficult to say where the main credit for a victory in the field should be given; yet that does not deter us from bestowing honour and fortune on our generals. Other countries allow no hair-splitting to stand in the way of grants for medical and other scientific discoveries.

Paris and the Silver Famine.

Paris has long been suffering from the progressive disappearance of silver money from circulation. This shortage was originally caused by the increase of the value of silver as metal or the depreciation of paper money, whichever one prefers to call it, aggravated by the natural tendency of the French people, especially in the peasant and working class, to hoard money. From time to time this "silver famine" seems to become a little less severe—probably the position has been eased by the extremely severe application of the laws against the melting of coin,—but at the present moment the position is rapidly becoming intolerable.

The Condition in Vienna:

The following from the London *Nation* is only one of the many pathetic comments on Vienna:

In consequence of lack of coal universities closed. Reopening absolutely uncertain. Hospitals and clinics still partly open; accommodation patients heavily restricted. All hospitals are in great difficulties. High schools with central heating completely closed. In other high schools teaching continues two hours per week each class. Elementary schools still open, but teaching greatly reduced. All schools will close mid-December for long vacations. Children's asylums where practically only poor children housed simply hopeless. Definite closing of all sorts of schools practically inevitable, and will probably be done under pretext of giving long holiday.

H. S. N.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

RESOLUTIONS, MEMORIAL, OBJECT AND PROGRAM FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION.

Adopted at the Annual Convention of the Section for the United States of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

RESOLUTIONS.

I. We record our sympathy with those suffering from famine, pestilence and unemployment extending throughout the great tracts of Central and Eastern Europe and in Asia; we urge upon our government every form of action possible for the relief of the peoples of all countries from this dire necessity.

II. Russia. Resolved that we urge upon the United States Government, in accordance with the principles of self-determination, to recognize the de facto government of Russia and to take all possible measures to alleviate the misery which the prolonged blockade has inflicted upon that country.

III. Mexico. Resolved that we favor a policy of constructive and friendly co-operation between our government and people and the Mexican Government and people; and we deplore the constant circulation in the press of sensational and inflammatory rumors; and we declare our unalterable opposition to all measures tending towards armed intervention.

IV. Asylum. Resolved that we deplore the fact that the United States of America has not only departed from its former practice of opening its doors to persons exiled or fleeing from religious, political or economic oppression, but has adopted a policy that is both cruel and new, of deporting persons because of their political or economic views.

V. Constitutional Rights. Resolved that we urge upon our government the repeal of all laws enacted because of the existence of a state of war, by which the rights of freedom of speech, press, assembly and security from search and seizure guaranteed by Amendments I and IV of the U. S. Constitution have been abrogated, and we protest against the violation by administrative officials of the right of all persons to be free from seizure in their persons, houses, papers and effects.

VI. Anna Whitney. Moved that the members of the Women's International League assembled in annual meeting, greatly deplore the action of the prosecuting authorities of California in bringing to trial and of the court of California in trying and convicting Anita Whitney. Recalling the rare qualities of her mind and heart, her unusual training, her unbroken service for the poor and needy in charity work, her efforts in behalf of civic righteousness and social justice, her consistent devotion to the cause of peace, and her abhorrence of the settlement by violence of controversies whether between individuals, groups or nations, the distinguished recognition accorded her by her fellow-citizens who have repeatedly elected her to high office in suffrage, social and civic organizations, we are unable to believe that she had ever been capable of cherishing a criminal intent, or seeking any object by the use of methods always abhorrent to her. We record here our confidence in her, our belief that her arrest, detention, trial, conviction and sentence are the result of a miscarriage of justice, and our hope that by judgment of a higher court or by executive clemency so much of the wrong as can be undone may be speedily righted.

Memorial to the Political Convention.

We, the members of the Women's International League, urge the adoption of the following resolutions and their insertion in the Party Platform:

1. We (the ——— Party) reaffirm our loyalty to the Constitution of the United States and pledge our candidates, if elected, to secure to the people their constitutional rights guaranteed by Amendment I, namely, freedom of religion, freedom of speech and of the press, the right of assembly and of petition, as well as those guaranteed by Amendment IV, to be secure "in their persons, houses, papers and effects, from unreasonable search and seizure. . . . "
2. We pledge our candidates, if elected, to support measures looking towards universal physical education without military training.
3. We pledge our efforts to bring about universal disarmament, through international agreement.
4. We favor a policy of constructive and friendly co-operation between our government and people and the Mexican government and people and oppose armed intervention.

OBJECT.

The object of this organization shall be to promote methods for the attainment of that peace between nations which is based on justice and good will and to co-operate with women from other countries who are working for the same ends.

IMMEDIATE PROGRAM.

1. Fight the World Famine (a) by philanthropic contributions and government loans for food; (b) by spreading information concerning the lamentable conditions in starving Europe.
2. Urge through all official channels the repatriation of all prisoners of war, especially the many thousands languishing in Siberia.
3. Stand for our constitutional rights of free speech, free press, free assembly and minority representation in legislature.
4. Support bills for universal physical education without military training; oppose military training in our schools and compulsory military service.
5. Work toward universal disarmament (land, sea and air).
6. Protest against the spirit and methods of "raids" and seizure for deportation and exile, and do all in our power to allay the hysteria and panic which make these possible.
7. Appeal for the immediate release from prison of political offenders whose only offense is opposition to war.
8. Permeate the Americanization movement with the spirit of appreciation of the gifts of many races to our national life.
9. If the League of Nations Covenant is signed by the United States, work for its amendment along lines of equality of rights among nations and democratic union of peoples to abolish war. If it is not signed, work for a better League of Nations.
10. Support morally and financially the International headquarters at Geneva and circulate the publications of the W. I. L.

Appeal by Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Delegated by the Russian Orthodox Clergy, headed by the All-Russian Patriarch, by the Hebrew Rabbis in Russia, by the Russian Academy of Sciences, by the Academy of Arts, by the All-Russian Union of Actors headed by the State Theaters, by the Russian poets, writers, composers, professors, by one hundred thousand university students and instructors, by the high and elementary schools, by two thousand co-operative establishments, by hospitals, homes, societies, companies, persons and institutions of the most diverse political parties and views, I transmit this appeal.

"Citizens of America! In the northern regions of Russia children are dying of hunger. When children are dying—the future of the nation is dying. We address ourselves to the mind and heart of the American people with the most ardent plea for help to the Russian children with food supplies. We appeal for help to a nation which more than once in the past actively and generously aided the Russian people, and we hope that on this occasion the Americans will also respond to our call.

GEORGI DOLGORUKOV.
(Signature of Russian Patriarch).

ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL PEOPLE'S COLLEGE IN DENMARK.

We hereby invite support for the foundation of an International People's College in Denmark. The object of this body would be to gather pupils from various countries, especially such as belong to and represent the working classes.

After the war, international intercourse will be resumed, and the immediate future is sure to be marked by a desire for closer international relations. It is desirable that such a drawing together of the peoples should not merely comprise an understanding of the material conditions, but also create a deeper spiritual understanding and bond of sympathy between them. As the education of the adults as well as the children will be a tremendous factor in the future of the race, it is important that education should be used to that end; young intelligent workers from different countries being given an opportunity for securing knowledge in common, widening their mental horizon and obtaining a deeper and truer view of life.

To carry out a plan like this, Denmark is particularly suitable because of

1. The position of the country.
2. Its neutrality during the war.
3. The fact that it is a small nation.
4. Its High School traditions.

The Danish people themselves would be benefited by such an institution. At any rate we cannot help being influenced by international currents of thought. It depends on ourselves whether this shall be to our detriment or advantage. It is important that the spiritually and

intellectually valuable elements of this situation should be utilized.

Briefly, our proposal then is this: to establish an International College which, like the Danish People's High Schools, will be based on liberal and Christian principles and which like these would be ethical in its purpose and personal in its method. Some modifications of the Danish High School principles will however be introduced, e. g.:

1. Social subjects will be given a more prominent place.

2. The English tutorial system will be applied, and the students from different countries will live together in "houses" of about twenty persons, presided over by a "housemaster."

3. The teaching in "classes" and "study circles" will form an important part of the work.

4. Manual work will be done by the students. Experience will teach us how far this is possible.

5. The instruction will be on an international basis, and students will be taught in one or more of the great languages, besides Danish (to Danish pupils).

6. The School will chiefly receive students who have received a preliminary education in their native countries and who have been sent out with recommendations from, or at the cost of, labor organizations or other bodies.

In England, where the plan in 1916 was submitted to representatives of educational, social and international bodies (e. g., Sir Michael Saddler and Sir Oliver Lodge, the labor leaders George Barnes and Philip Snowden, the chairman of "the National Adult School Union," Arnold Rowntree, and the General Secretary of the Workers' Educational Association, P. M. Mactavish), it has won great support, and a letter from Lic. Siegmund-Schultze, of the International and Christian Social Movement in Berlin, indicates an interest from the German side.

In order that the pupils from abroad who wish to learn Danish agricultural methods may be able to do so, arrangements for co-operation have been made with the agricultural school and the institution for research in agriculture at Lyngby, near Copenhagen.

The approximate expenses for the construction of the School will be about 600,000 Kr. ($120,000) and the reserve fund necessary to meet further expenses will be 400,000 Kr. ($80,000).

Subscriptions should be sent to the undersigned and will be banked by him. If the plan should not be carried out, the deposits will be returned.

PETER MANNICHE, cand. mag.,
Warden of the "High School and Study Circle Union in Copenhagen" (a night school).

. . . . . *"who would be abreast of thought"*

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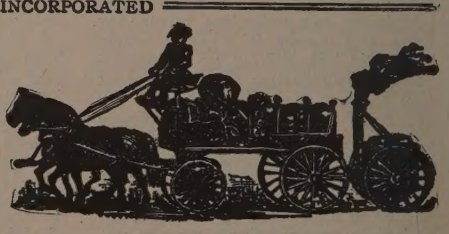
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